

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 064690  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:NEA:RNEUMANN

APPROVED BY:NEA:RNEUMANN

S/S-O:TMARTIN

-----105820 141937Z /41

R 141230Z MAR 78 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

S E C R E T STATE 064690

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT CAIRO 7964 ACTION SECSTATE DATED MAR 11:

QTE: S E C R E T CAIRO 07964

NODIS

EYES ONLY FOR THE SECRETARY, ATHERTON AND SAUNDERS FROM  
AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1 AND 3

TAGS: PEPR, PGOV, XF, US

SUBJECT: SADAT'S LINKING OF SINAI AND PALESTINIAN

- SETTLEMENTS

REF: (A) STATE 59129, (B) CAIRO 7645, (C) LONDON 3814

SUMMARY: WHILE STRESSING THAT AT THIS TIME HE COULD MAKE  
NO FIRM COMMITMENT NOR PROMISE RE RELATIONSHIP OF A SINAI  
SETTLEMENT TO WEST BANK/GAZA SETTLEMENT, SADAT TODAY  
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CONFIRMED THAT HIS CURRENT TENTATIVE THINKING IS THERE  
SHOULD BE A LINKAGE BETWEEN THE TWO. STRESSING HE WAS  
"THINKING OUT LOUD," HE ENVISAGED A SINAI AGREEMENT COULD  
BE CONCLUDED AFTER AN ACCEPTABLE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES  
HAD BEEN DEVELOPED. THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE MORE SPECIFIC  
THAN VAGUE LANGUAGE ISRAEL WANTS AND HE THOUGHT ONLY A  
U.S. DRAFT WOULD SERVE THE PURPOSE. AFTER SINAI AGREEMENT  
CONCLUDED, IT WOULD BE INITIALED, NOT SIGNED. HE HOPED  
ISRAELIS WOULD BE WILLING TO BEGIN PHASED IMPLEMENTATION  
AFTER SINAI AGREEMENT INITIALED, ALTHOUGH FORMAL SIGNING  
SHOULD NOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL WEST BANK/GAZA SETTLEMENT

ACHIEVED. MEANWHILE, HOWEVER, CONCURRENT WITH ISRAELI IMPLEMENTATION OF PHASED SINAI WITHDRAWAL, BEGINNING OF SOME NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL COULD TAKE PLACE TO SHOW ISRAELIS GOE IS ACTING IN GOOD FAITH. HE WAS ESPECIALLY ANXIOUS, HOWEVER, THAT LATTER IDEA OF HIS NOT BE CONVEYED TO BEGIN, WHO WOULD LIKELY LEAK IT AND CAUSE HIM EMBARRASSMENT. SADAT SAID THIS IS NOT NECESSARILY HIS LAST WORD ON THE SUBJECT AND EVERYTHING WILL DEPEND UPON BEGIN'S ATTITUDE AND RESULTS OF UPCOMING CARTER/BEGIN TALKS. DEPENDING UPON LATTER, HE MIGHT REVIEW SITUATION AND CONSIDER WHETHER THERE ARE ALTERNATIVE WAYS TO PROCEED. END SUMMARY.

1. AS INSTRUCTED REF A, I ASKED SADAT TODAY IN FAYOUM FOR CLARIFICATION OF HIS POSITION ON WHETHER OR NOT A SINAI AGREEMENT SHOULD BE LINKED WITH PALESTINIAN SETTLEMENT. I RECALLED HIS PERTINENT STATEMENT TO ME OF SEVERAL MONTHS AGO LINKING IMPLEMENTATION OF A SINAI AGREEMENT TO SETTLEMENT OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM AND FACT THAT HE HAD ALSO INCLUDED THIS CONCEPT IN THE ORIGINAL DRAFT OF HIS ORAL MESSAGE TO BEGIN. I UNDERSTOOD THAT SECRETARY VANCE HAD ALSO ASKED HIM ABOUT THIS IN WASHINGTON AND THAT HE  
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MAY HAVE GIVEN A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT ANSWER. I THOUGHT HE WOULD AGREE THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT PRESIDENT CARTER BE AS CLEAR AS POSSIBLE ON SADAT'S PRECISE POSITION ON THIS MATTER AND I HAD BEEN ASKED TO OBTAIN PRIOR TO THE BEGIN VISIT ANY CLARIFICATION THAT SADAT MIGHT BE ABLE OR WILLING TO PROVIDE.

2. SADAT SAID HE DID NOT RECALL EXACTLY WHAT HE HAD SAID TO THE SECRETARY IN WASHINGTON ON THIS POINT, BUT DID REMEMBER THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED LINKAGE WITH ROY ATHERTON AND ME AND HAD INCLUDED IT IN THE ORIGINAL ORAL MESSAGE TO BEGIN. AFTER REFLECTING ON THE MATTER FOR A FEW MINUTES, HE SAID HE COULD NOT AT THIS POINT PROVIDE A HARD AND FAST ANSWER TO THE QUESTION. HIS THINKING IS STILL EVOLVING. NOR COULD HE AT THIS JUNCTURE MAKE A FIRM COMMITMENT OR PROMISE TO US ON THIS MATTER, SINCE "EVERYTHING WILL DEPEND ON BEGIN'S ATTITUDE." HE THEN OUTLINED HIS CURRENT TENTATIVE THINKING AS FOLLOWS.

3. WHAT IS FIRST NEEDED, SADAT SAID, IS AN ACCEPTABLE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. ONLY IF THERE IS SUCH A DOCUMENT CAN HE PROCEED WITH NEGOTIATING A SINAI SETTLEMENT. AN ACCEPTABLE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES WILL "RELIEVE ME OF MY RESPONSIBILITIES RESULTING FROM ARAB SUMMIT DECISIONS" AND WILL REQUIRE THE OTHER ARAB LEADERS AND THE PALESTINIANS TO SIT DOWN AND NEGOTIATE THEIR OWN DETAILED ARRANGEMENTS WITH ISRAEL. IN ORDER TO SERVE THIS PURPOSE, SADAT CONTINUED, THE DECLARATION

OF PRINCIPLES MUST BE BASED ON (A) WITHDRAWAL ON ALL FRONTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH U.N. RESOLUTION 242, BUT BE MORE SPECIFIC THAN RESOLUTION 242, AND (B) AN EXPRESSED READINESS TO SOLVE THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM IN ALL ITS ASPECTS. ANYTHING LESS THAN THIS WOULD NOT "COVER MY MANEUVER." IF THE DECLARATION IS CAST IN THE VAGUE WAY THAT ISRAEL WANTS, IT WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATING A SINAI ARRANGEMENT. IT WOULD GIVE  
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CARDS TO THE SOVIETS AND HIS CRITICS IN THE ARAB WORLD. THE PRESENT DRAFT DECLARATION, AS IT IS EVOLVING, SADAT SAID, WILL NOT SERVE THE PURPOSE. HE IS COUNTING UPON THE U.S. TO PUT FORWARD AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME A DRAFT OF ITS OWN, WHICH HE HOPES WILL CONTAIN THE TYPE OF SPECIFIC LANGUAGE THAT HE BELIEVES HE NEEDS. IN ANSWER TO MY QUERY, HE REAFFIRMED THAT THE ASWAN LANGUAGE ON THE

PALESTINIANS IS AGREEABLE TO HIM.

4. IF AN ACCEPTABLE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES DEVELOPS, SADAT WENT ON, HE COULD THEN PROCEED TO NEGOTIATE THE DETAILS OF A SINAI AGREEMENT. TO TRY TO CONCLUDE A SINAI AGREEMENT WITHOUT A SPECIFIC DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE TYPE SUGGESTED, HE EMPHASIZED, WOULD ENDANGER HIS POSITION IN ARAB WORLD. ONCE THE DETAILS OF A SINAI SETTLEMENT ARE WORKED OUT, HE WOULD INITIAL, NOT RPT NOT SIGN, THE DOCUMENT. SIGNING, IN HIS PRESENT VIEW, SHOULD NOT RPT NOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL THERE IS AGREEMENT ON A WEST BANK/GAZA SETTLEMENT. IF HUSSEIN OR THE PALESTINIANS REFUSE TO NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL, AND HERE SADAT INTERJECTED HE HAS NO USE FOR HUSEIN WHO HE CHARGED IS TRYING TO PLAY THE "EGYPTIAN/SYRIAN CARD," HE, SADAT, WOULD BE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PALESTINIANS IN GAZA, WHERE EGYPT HAS HAD A POSITION IN THE PAST. MOREOVER, IF HUSEIN AND THE PALESTINIANS DO NOT SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY AND IF BEGIN WERE WILLING TO DO IT, HE, SADAT, WOULD EVEN BE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PALESTINIANS IN THE WEST BANK.

5. ONCE A SINAI AGREEMENT IS INITIALED, SADAT HOPED THAT THE ISRAELIS WILL BE WILLING TO BEGIN IMPLEMENTATION OF IT EVEN THOUGH IT HAS NOT YET BEEN SIGNED AND WILL NOT BE  
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FORMALLY SIGNED UNTIL A WEST BANK/GAZA SETTLEMENT IS ACHIEVED. THIS IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD TAKE THE FORM OF PHASED ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM SINAI. TO SHOW THE ISRAELIS THAT GOE IS ACTING IN GOOD FAITH, DESPITE NON-SIGNING, SADAT IS THINKING THAT SUCH IMPLEMENTATION MIGHT BE

ACCOMPANIED BY BEGINNING SOME SORT OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL. IN TELLING ME THIS, SADAT SPECIFICALLY ASKED THAT THIS LAST IDEA OF HIS NOT RPT NOT BE CONVEYED TO BEGIN. IT WAS FOR PRESIDENT CARTER AND SECRETARY VANCE ONLY. BEGIN SHOULD BE GIVEN NO HINT OF SADAT'S THINKING ABOUT BEGINNING NORMALIZATION ONCE A SINAI AGREEMENT IS INITIALED AND IMPLEMENTATION BEGINS, SINCE PRIMIN BEGIN IS BOUND TO LEAK IT AND THEREBY UNDERMINE SADAT'S POSITION IN ARAB WORLD AND EXPOSE HIM TO FURTHER SOVIET AND RADICAL ARAB CRITICISM.

6. IN PROVIDING THE ABOVE, SADAT STRESSED THAT HE WAS "THINKING OUT LOUD." WITHOUT CLEARER KNOWLEDGE OF BEGIN'S ATTITUDES AND WHAT PRESIDENT CARTER MAY BE ABLE TO DO WITH BEGIN ON UPCOMING VISIT, HE COULD NOT AT THIS POINT IN TIME BE PRECISE ON THE ISSUE. HE ALSO SAID THAT WHAT HE HAD TOLD ME SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN AS HIS LAST WORD. DEPENDING UPON THE CARTER/BEGIN TALKS AND HOW THE SITUATION EVOLVES, HE MIGHT REVIEW THE SITUATION AND CONSIDER WHETHER THERE ARE OTHER ALTERNATIVE WAYS TO PROCEED. EILTS UNQTE VANCE

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 26 sep 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PEACE, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, CAT-B, NEGOTIATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 14 mar 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978STATE064690  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:**  
**Enclosure:** DC IS ALSO X3  
**Executive Order:** 11652 XGDS-1 AND 3  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** N780003-0452  
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**Office:** ORIGIN NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** NODIS ONLY  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS ONLY  
**Reference:** (A) STATE 59129, (B) CAIRO 7645, (C) LONDON 3814  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 21 jun 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3166248  
**Secure:** LOCK1  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SADAT'S LINKING OF SINAI AND PALESTINIAN - SETTLEMENTS  
**TAGS:** PEPR, PGOV, PBOR, XF, US, EG, (SADAT, ANWAR)  
**To:** TEL AVIV  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/426a5ebb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014